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DECEMBER 17, 1955
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Bill of Rights Day

INTEGRATION

In Schools

by Henry Lee Moon

In Colleges

by Guy B. Johnson

CHRISTMAS BUYING GUIDE

Books • Records • Art Originals

In This Issue:

EDITORIALS

525 • The Shape of Things

ARTICLES

527 • Score on Integration
I. In Public Schools
by HENRY LEE MOON

529 • II. In the Colleges
by GUY B. JOHNSON

532 • Labor at the Altar
by SIDNEY LENS

534 • Toward Better Schools
by FRANCES KEENE

536 • **BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS**

539 • The Friend of the Poet
by M. L. ROSENTHAL

540 • Cats in the Snow
by DYLAN THOMAS

540 • Selected New Books
Poetry
by JOHN CIARDI
Fiction
by STANLEY COOPERMAN

540 • **RECORDS OF THE YEAR**
by B. H. HAGGIN

542 • **ART**
by A. L. CHANIN

544 • **THEATER**
by ROBERT HATCH

opposite
544 • **CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 650**
by FRANK W. LEWIS

opposite
525 • **AROUND THE U. S. A.**
by HARRY L. GOLDEN

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No Dissent in Dixie

Columbia, South Carolina

THIS IS the story of Dr. Chester C. Travelstead, dean of the School of Education at the University of South Carolina here. On August 19, without warning or prior discussion, Travelstead received a one-paragraph letter dismissing him from the university. Sixty-nine days later, on October 27, he was given a "hearing" before the executive committee of the board of trustees.

Travelstead is forty-four; his adult life, except for three war years in the navy, has been spent in education. By ancestry, birth, schooling, and residence, he is a Southerner. Born and educated in Kentucky, he received his doctorate at the University of Virginia and taught at the University of Georgia before his appointment as dean here. Here are the events which led to his dismissal.

On May 2, Dr. Travelstead wrote a letter to Governor George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina. He wrote as a private citizen, using personal stationery and his home address, challenging the governor on a speech the latter had made defying the Supreme Court's famous desegregation decision. Dr. Travelstead's letter said in part:

> You said in your speech, Governor, that "the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school-segregation cases upholds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discriminatory." It is my considered judgment, Governor, that it was not the intent of the Court to say that "equality of treatment is discriminatory." Rather did it say in effect that segregation is in and of itself discriminatory and therefore in violation [of the Constitution].
>
> You have said, Governor, that the recommendation [to the General Assembly of South Carolina] to abolish the [state] Compulsory Attendance Law "had not weakened ourselves in this respect." Apparently, Governor, it is the firm belief of most educators and leaders in state and national government that compulsory school attendance at public or private schools has been the backbone of our democracy.
>
> You have attacked, Governor, the integrationist and have said that he is "seeking to abolish parental rights in education. . . ." It is without evidence to say that those who in 1955, for moral, civic, and legal reasons believe that segregation is outmoded and should therefore be abolished are men of "little character" attempting, as you say, "to lynch the character of a fourth of our nation." It is my opinion, Governor, that many men of great stature are sincerely convinced that the Supreme Court's ruling was both timely and sound.

On May 31 the president of the university, Donald Russell (who served as Assistant Secretary of State under Secretary Byrnes) called Dr. Travelstead to his office and asked him for a copy of the letter. While Dr. Travelstead was not told to desist from writing such letters, Mr. Russell informed him that "such controversial matters make politicians mad"; he further remarked: "Let us do everything possible not to make the politicians mad."

On July 28, the dean received a notice of his reappointment for the 1955-56 school year, accompanied by a substantial increase in salary. No mention was made of his letter to the Governor, nor were any conditions attached to the appointment.

On August 2, Dr. Travelstead spoke in Drayton Hall on the campus before approximately 400 summer-session students and faculty members. His speech was entitled Today's Decisions for Tomorrow's Schools; in it he enumerated eight major educational problems facing America today. The last problem discussed was that of integration in the public schools. Said Dr. Travelstead:

> It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis and should therefore be abolished as soon as practicable, even though as a white Southerner I have since my early childhood taken for granted the practice of segregation. . . .

Three days later Dr. Travelstead was again called to President Russell's office. The university head told him that he had received several complaints that the part of the August 2 speech dealing with segregation "cuts our throat with the legislature when we request funds for the university." This was the last time the dean saw Mr. Russell. On August 19 he received his dismissal: "The executive committee of the board of trustees is of the opinion that it is not in the best interests of the university to renew your appointment as Dean of the School of Education."

The next day the dean asked President Russell for a hearing. He was finally given one on October 27 by the five-man executive committee of the board of trustees. The executive committee told the dean: (1) That persons employed by the university should not engage in discussions of controversial issues, and (2) That it is not necessary for the board to issue a statement of its policy with respect to academic freedom and free discussion on the university campus. A member of the committee said: *"A person should have enough common sense to know what he should and should not discuss—without any clear-cut policy about such matters."*

Thus South Carolina loses one of its ablest educators, the rest of the faculty has been effectively silenced, and the University of South Carolina becomes a beleaguered fortress of academic freedom in what Governor Timmerman calls "The War of Northern Aggression." Meanwhile, Dr. Travelstead has been appointed dean of education at the University of New Mexico.

HARRY L. GOLDEN

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Mr. Dulles Should Go

President Eisenhower would serve the interests of the nation well if, before the year ends, he were to ask for the resignation of Mr. Dulles. If foreign policy is to be a major issue in the 1956 campaign—in our view a desirable development—then the debate should not pivot on the personal shortcomings of Mr. Dulles. The Democrats must not be permitted to duck the obligation of offering alternative policies by concentrating their fire on the Secretary as the Republicans made a scapegoat of Mr. Acheson in 1952.

But Mr. Dulles should be removed for another reason also: demonstrated incompetence. He is not, of course, to be held accountable for the failure of policies which were actually initiated by Mr. Acheson and others. Good Secretaries of State have been wrong on occasion but habitual blundering is not to be tolerated. Mr. Dulles has consistently been more concerned with domestic political currents than with world opinion and he has shown a talent, bordering on genius, for arousing distrust and antipathy in the chancellories of friendly and neutral nations. Goa is only the most recent illustration of this talent—witness an item in the Toronto *Star* of December 3 which failed to attract much attention here. Mr. Dulles, it seems, has accused the Canadians of keeping him in the dark on their efforts to bring eighteen new members into the United Nations. Spokesmen for the Canadian Embassy emphatically reject the charge. The issue, they say, was discussed with Mr. Dulles himself at the United States-Canadian joint economic session in Ottawa last September. And the State Department, they add, has been thoroughly briefed about all subsequent departures and developments.

In the Goa matter, Mr. Dulles states in self-defense that the Russians were attempting to incite India to use force against the Portuguese. The conduct of Bulganin and Khrushchev was crude enough, but neither had actually suggested the use of force. In saying that the United States wants a renunciation of force in the settlement of the Goa and other international disputes, Mr. Dulles would have the world believe that he has forgotten that Nehru put the damper on further popular demonstrations in August precisely because India was committed to the peaceful settlement of its dispute with Portugal. By issuing a joint statement with Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mr. Dulles implied that he had prejudged the Goa dispute. The joint statement not only undercut the work of a fine Ambassador in New Delhi, it played directly into the hands of the Russians. "Monolithic stupidity," comments the *Times of India;* we agree.

A sophisticated defense has of course been entered for Mr. Dulles. For example, some say his real aim is to disengage American power and that his brash talk of "massive retaliation" and such bold gestures as the Formosa resolution were intended to conceal his real purpose—to deceive the right-wing of the Republican Party, the better to slit Chiang Kai-shek's throat at a later date. No one doubts that the Secretary is devious. But even he can hardly expect voters to assume that he generally means the opposite of what he says. Lacking access to his diary or his secret thoughts, voters must judge his diplomacy by its results; and political debates must be based on the public and not the secret report.

If the President wants to strengthen the bipartisan approach to foreign policy, let him name the distinguished Senator Walter George as Mr. Dulles's successor. Should he prefer to name a Republican, then let him select some one who more closely represents his personal point of view—say, for example, Paul Hoffman, Nelson Rockefeller or Milton Eisenhower. In either case, the removal of Mr. Dulles would mitigate the partisan resentment which the Democratic leadership, remembering his role in drafting the Republican foreign-policy planks in 1952, naturally feel toward him. At the same time, the President would be denying the Democrats an opportunity to make Mr. Dulles a scapegoat for the failure of policies which, in some cases, they themselves initiated. Is it too much to expect a real debate on foreign policy in 1956 instead of shrill name-calling and the airing of ancient partisan feuds?

Mr. Ford at Bay

Henry Ford II, grandson of one of the most useful if controversial Americans of his generation, is a most attractive public figure. His name has come to be associated in the minds of most Americans with progressive, decent, humane industrial relations as thoroughly as his grandfather's name was associated with the opposite type. His frequent statements and speeches on public issues have put him in the vanguard of this country's forward-looking industrial leaders. With his encouragement and largely at his initiative, the Ford family fortunes have been devoted to various philanthrophies on a scale that dwarfs similar benefactions. To administer these huge funds, Mr. Ford selected a distinguished group of citizens to serve as

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board members. In short, Mr. Ford merits public approbation and esteem. He is the type of industrial leader for whom all of us should be grateful. Yet our sense of civic decency has so deteriorated that this distinguished industrial leader can be placed in the public pillory by two political pranksters—Fulton Lewis, Jr., and a young man named Buckley—aided and abetted by the miscellaneous claque that cooperates in their pranks.

What Mr. Ford's humiliation demonstrates is that our anxieties do have their roots in economic insecurity, the insecurity of wealth no less than the insecurity of poverty. For here is Mr. Ford behaving with less sense of personal security than a worker on one of his assembly lines, despite his millions and the record-breaking sales of the Ford Motor Company. Other sturdy pillars of our economy and public life—the New York *Times* is a case in point—have been humiliated in much the same fashion. To bolster the morale of these faltering giants let's all buy a Ford for Christmas, even those of us who already own one, and, for the same reason, take a second subscription to the New York *Times*. God-and-Man-at-Yale Buckley won't like it, and Fulton, Jr., will scold, but let's do it anyway.

Insurrection

> Insurrection. A rebellion of citizens or subjects of a country or state against its government. Any open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of the laws of the United States, of so formidable a character as to defy, for the time being, the authority of the government, constitutes an insurrection, even though not accompanied by bloodshed and not of sufficient magnitude to make success possible.
>
> —Bouvier's Law Dictionary (1934).

The failure of state authorities to safeguard the lives, liberties and rights of a million Negro citizens and residents, coupled with organized opposition to the execution of federal laws and decisions of the Supreme Court, has placed Mississippi in a state of open insurrection. Any doubt that it is insurrection, not mere agitation, in which the state's white-supremacy advocates are now indulging was removed by Senator James Eastland's recent speech in Jackson to a gathering of 2,000 members of Mississippi's White Citizens Councils. With the crowd roaring "aye," the Senator's insurrectionary manifesto was adopted without debate or dissent. The Senator proposed that the state adopt six laws (it seems certain that they will be adopted) designed to: (1) Provide penalties against "any person interfering with state law under the color of federal authority" (the Governor-elect has said that this measure would include F. B. I. agents who interfere with a state case); (2) Tighten the statutes against "unauthorized practice of law," as by making a lawyer subject to court action under certain circumstances if he handles a case aimed against segregation laws; (3) Eliminate the compulsory school-attendance law; (4) Outlaw common-law marriages; (5) Strengthen the state libel laws; (6) Create a state authority, supported by Negro as well as white taxpayers' contributions, to maintain segregation. Among the Citizens Council members who voted for the proposal were Governor White, Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, ex-Governor Fielding Wright and John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi Bar Association.

When an American state plots to abolish its public-school system—Virginia is the latest state to do so—it has taken a long step toward public repudiation of constitutional obligations and responsibilities. Should the Mississippi legislature adopt Senator Eastland's program it will have formalized the existing state of insurrection. How much longer can the Senate Internal Security subcommittee avoid an investigation of its chairman? Or does the subcommittee approve of insurrection? And just what is the difference between subversion and insurrection?

Staff Note

With this issue we are pleased to announce that Robert Hatch, our film critic, has joined the staff as an editor and will have charge of the Books-and-Arts section. He will also continue to review films. Mr. Hatch's first editorial job was with the O. W. I. in London and Munich during and after the war; he edited *Voir* and *Heute,* large-format news magazines that sold throughout France and Germany. Upon his return to the United States he became film reviewer and literary editor of *The New Republic,* leaving that magazine when its editorial offices were moved to Washington. After working as an associate editor of *Scientific American* for a year, Mr. Hatch in 1954 founded *Center,* a magazine of the performing arts published by the New York City Center. He edited *Center* until his recent transfer to *The Nation's* staff.

Shortly after the first of the year, if the current newsprint shortage abates, *The Nation* will alternate twenty-four and thirty-two page issues with most of the added space being allocated to Mr. Hatch's Book-and-Arts section which will include, among other new features, an occasional column on radio and television.

With this issue, too, we regretfully announce the retirement of J. A. del Vayo as foreign editor. However, he will continue to write for us from time to time as European correspondent, with Paris as his base of operations. For the last several weeks Mr. Del Vayo has been enjoying some accumulated vacation time. The first of his dispatches from Europe will appear shortly after the first of the year.

Next Week

Mark Watson, noted military-affairs analyst of the Baltimore *Sun,* discloses the important lessons learned from the recent military maneuvers known as Operation Sagebrush.

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SCORE ON INTEGRATION

THURSDAY, December 15, was Bill of Rights Day. The Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, on public-school desegregation furnishes as good a yardstick as any by which to measure the significance of the day and our right to celebrate it.

On this and the following pages, two especially competent observers review the progress of desegregation in the nineteen months since the Supreme Court's decision. Henry Lee Moon, who reviews the situation in the public schools, is the author of Balance of Power: The Negro Vote *and of numerous magazine articles on the race problem. Guy B. Johnson, who deals with desegregation in colleges and universities, is professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina, has written widely on race relations and is now collaborating with his wife on a book on integration on Southern campuses.*

The reader's attention is also called to Harry Golden's story on the inside front cover concerning the fate of one courageous dean on a Southern campus who defied the mores *of his board of trustees and of the politicians who hold the university's purse-strings.*

1. In Public Schools . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

WITH instructions "to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees . . . as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases," the United States Supreme Court on May 31 remanded to the lower district courts the trailblazing public-school segregation cases. The order reaffirmed the supreme tribunal's unanimous decision a year earlier which banned racial segregation in public education.

Even before the 1954 decision, two of the six communities involved in the litigation had opened their white schools to colored pupils in compliance with a ruling of the Delaware supreme court. In two others—the District of Columbia and Topeka, Kansas—desegregation was promptly initiated following the Court's 1954 edict.

At what speed, however, have the district courts moved to implement the Supreme Court's edict of May 31 in the remaining two cases—Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia? In July, special three-judge federal courts sitting in Columbia, South Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia, heard arguments upon a motion filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a judgment and decree to enforce the Supreme Court mandate. In both cases the court ruled invalid existing state laws requiring segregation in public education and ordered the local school boards to refrain from "refusing on account of race or color to admit to any school under their supervision any child qualified to enter such school, from and after such time as the defendants [school boards] may have made the necessary arrangements for admission of children to such school on a non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed as required by the decision of the [Supreme] Court." The catch is that in neither instance was a time limit for compliance set. And in neither South Carolina nor Virginia has there yet been any desegregation in public schools other than in institutions located on military establishments for the children of service or civilian personnel. Meanwhile the old segregation barriers were being rolled aside in the District of Columbia, in Kansas, and to a lesser extent in Delaware as the issue of who attends class with whom tended to fade into its proper insignificance.

THE picture of the segregation issue in public education today encompasses a vaster canvas than that afforded by the six communities in which the decisive cases originated. When the N. A. A. C. P. first took these cases to the Supreme Court in 1952, racial segregation in public education was the required pattern in seventeen states and in the District of Columbia. Among these, only in Delaware had any dent been made in the wall of segregation in public education. Four other states had laws permitting but not requiring segregation. In numerous communities in Northern and Western states, separate schools were imposed by residential segregation or custom.

In the nineteen months since the Supreme Court's first ruling, some measure of public-school desegregation has taken place in eight of the seventeen states. In at least three of the remaining nine, there is indication that certain localities have been restrained by inhibitions and prohibitions at state level from following through with plans to start desegregation.

A rundown of the situation in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which had segregation statutes on their books reveals the following:

Integration Initiated

Arkansas. Schools in three towns involving fewer than fifty Negro and about 1,600 white pupils desegregated; committees appointed to plan future integration in Little Rock, Hot Springs and several other cities.

Delaware. Of a total of 104 school districts, twenty-one with 1,230 of the state's 10,500 Negro pupils have desegregated. As desegregation proceeds southward from Wilmington, it encounters increasingly stubborn resistance.

District of Columbia. With 80 per cent of the District's 169 schools integrated, Negro and white parents have joined in demanding higher educational standards, additional teachers, and more adequate facilities.

Kentucky. In twenty-four of the state's 224 districts some 300 of Kentucky's 43,360 school-age Negro children are attending mixed classes. Meanwhile, special committees to

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study the problems of desegregation have been appointed by fifty school boards.

Maryland. Following the lead set by Baltimore in 1954, eight of the state's twenty-two counties with school-age Negro children have started desegregation. Of a total of 240,000 pupils in these eight counties, about 20,000 are Negro. Slightly more than 1,000 of these colored children are now attending mixed classes. Except for two counties which have completed plans and one in which no Negro school-age children live, all Maryland counties have desegregation under continuing study.

Missouri. An estimated 85 per cent of Negro school children in the state are attending schools in which integration has begun. Success of desegregation programs in Missouri is attributed to careful planning at the local level.

Oklahoma. Of the 1,463 school districts in which Negro children live, 271 have begun integration, including ninety which have completed the process.

Texas. Desegregation program initiated in sixty-five school districts of the state involves less than 2 per cent of the total number of Negro students in the state.

West Virginia. All but ten of the state's fifty-five counties have begun to remove racial segregation from the public schools. One of the ten has announced plans to begin desegregation in January, 1956.

No Action to Integrate

Alabama. Legislation designed to retain school segregation was enacted into law despite the refusal of Governor James E. Folsom to sign the measure. Three local anti-integration bills were passed over his veto.

Florida. Except for schools at two air-force bases, public elementary and secondary schools throughout the state remain segregated. Meanwhile, biracial committees in one-third of the state's counties are studying ways and means of desegregating.

Georgia. At least three communities have set up committees to make a study of desegregation problems in this state whose leading politicians are committed to maintaining segregation come what may and at whatever price.

RACIAL SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS MUST END ULTIMATELY EVERYWHERE.
U.S. SUPREME COURT
"TAKE 100 YEARS SAYS EX-GOV. TALMADGE OF GA."
FEDERAL FATE LOCAL LAWS

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

The Stumbling Block

Louisiana. Settling down to a last-ditch fight to keep segregation, the state has appropriated $100,000 to retain lawyers whose sole duty shall be to assist localities in litigation to resist desegregation.

Mississippi. No steps toward integration. Additional legislation proposed to reinforce segregation. Approval of funds for equalization of schools in certain communities.

North Carolina. Apparently under pressure of state policy, local school boards which earlier had expressed willingness to take steps toward compliance with the Supreme Court order have failed to proceed with their plans. A proposal, advanced by Governor Luther H. Hodges, to continue public-school segregation on a "voluntary" basis has been flatly rejected by the N. A. A. C. P. state leaders, by Negro school teachers and other spokesmen for the race.

South Carolina. In the words of James M. Hinton, state president of the N. A. A. C. P., South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi have been "acting like jackasses" on the segregation issue. South Carolina took the lead in preparing for the abolition of the public-school system rather than comply with the Supreme Court ruling. No step toward compliance has been taken by any school board in the state beyond the "study" which the Clarendon County board told the federal district court it would make.

Tennessee. Desegregation has occurred only at the federally controlled community of Oak Ridge where it was initiated in September and apparently has been successful. Despite pressure, the Chattanooga school board reaffirmed its earlier announced intention of complying with the Supreme Court's ruling.

Virginia. As before, nearly a century ago, Virginia is following South Carolina's lead to chaos and defeat. A special session of the General Assembly, called by Governor Thomas B. Stanley, early in December approved the report of the Gray Commission on Public Education. The two-pronged plan provides (1) payment of tuition for attendance at private segregated schools and (2) authorization to assign pupils to schools on other bases than race, such as adaptability, adequacy of facilities, health, etc. The proposal requires amendment of the state constitution at a convention called for that purpose by a popular referendum.

Meanwhile public-school segregation tended steadily to disappear in the four states with permissive legislation. Early in 1955, New Mexico and Wyoming repealed statutes which permitted racial segregation in public schools. In Wyoming it had long been a dead-letter law. State-court rulings in 1953 and 1954 held Arizona's school-segregation law unenforceable. In Kansas, the process of integration has been retarded by a United States district court ruling this year upholding Topeka's lax transfer system which permits students to select the school they will attend irrespective of district lines.

STIMULATED by current efforts to achieve integration in education, many Northern communities have re-examined their own programs and given new attention to school problems stemming from the prevailing pattern of residential segregation. In New York City a study prepared by the Public Education Association and submitted to the Board of Education Commission on Integration in October, 1955, found that "there is no significant evidence to indicate that ethnic separation is seriously considered in drawing school-district boundary lines." However, the study also revealed that facilities and educational standards in predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican neighborhoods are generally lower than in other sections of the city.

Legal and community actions to end segregation in public schools have been instituted in such widely scattered areas as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and California.

The main battleground, however, remains in the South, particularly in

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the nine states which still present a solid segregation front. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has spearheaded the drive to end segregation in public education, recreation and transportation, is confident that this front will be broken. Despite threats, intimidation, economic reprisals and delaying legislative tactics there is no indication that the antisegregation forces are retreating from the demand that the states comply with the Supreme Court's rulings.

Meeting in Atlanta, June 3-4, after the May 31 decision, N. A. A. C. P. leaders from the affected states called upon the local branches of the association to file petitions with their respective school boards requesting that the boards proceed in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling. The regional leadership further instructed the branches to report to the association's legal department failure of any local school board to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with" the court's decision.

FOLLOWING the Atlanta conference, branches of the N. A. A. C. P. filed petitions for desegregation with 170 local school boards in seventeen states. These petitions were variously received. In Mississippi they created consternation and revealed the blind race hate of the "white supremacy" exponents. In some localities they were ignored. Some local boards seriously considered the petition and conferred with local N. A. A. C. P. leadership. In certain other communities the petitions proved unnecessary because the local boards did not hesitate to comply with the new order.

In areas where resentment has been most bitter—as in Mississippi, in Selma, Alabama, and in Orangeburg, South Carolina—measures were instituted by hate groups tc force signers of the petitions to withdraw their names under threat of economic penalties.

Under this sort of pressure, some persons who signed the petition asked that their names be withdrawn. In the long run, those who yielded were no better off than those who stubbornly refused to withdraw their names, for the bigots double-crossed the former. They were fired from their jobs and not rehired after

removing their names. Just as the others, they were denied credit by the merchants and banks. They were refused services and goods at local stores. Retailers could no longer purchase merchandise from local wholesalers. Negro workers were warned not to patronize professional men who took an active role in demanding an end to segregation. In Selma, Alabama, the local White Citizens Council boasted that sixteen of the twenty-nine Negroes who signed the desegregation petition had lost their jobs. In Yazoo City, Mississippi, the W. C. C. scored even higher, forcing fifty-three of fifty-five signers to withdraw.

SINCE the Supreme Court handed down its great decision of May 17, 1954, more than a score of cases invoking segregation in public education have been argued in various state and federal courts. In view of the forthright declaration by the nation's highest tribunal, none of the lower courts have attempted to validate segregation, but several have been exceedingly lenient in indicating how long the present illegal practice may endure.

In a 5 to 2 decision the Florida supreme court held that the federal ruling does not indicate "a clear legal duty" to admit Negro applicants "at any particular time in the future." In Dallas, United States District Judge William H. Atwell dismissed a suit to compel the school board to desegregate immediately. Similarly, in Memphis a federal district judge approval a gradual plan of integration over a period of five years.

Notable among rulings taking a strong affirmative position in support of compliance are the decisions of the supreme court of Texas in the Big Spring case and that of United States District Judge Thomas C. Trimble in the Hoxie, Arkansas, case.

In Big Spring, Texas, the local White Citizens Council sought to enjoin the board from integrating the schools on the ground that Texas law required segregation. This argument, the state supreme court said, "is so utterly without merit that we override it without further discussion except to say that Section 2 of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States declares: 'This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' "

Upholding the desegregation order of the Hoxie, Arkansas, school board, Judge Trimble ruled "that there are no valid segregation laws of the State of Arkansas, for they have been declared unconstitutional and void by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Viewed from one perspective, the speed with which desegregation is proceeding may seem exceedingly deliberate. Yet in the long view it is incontestably evident that segregation, not only in education but in all phases of public life in America, is doomed. The basic conflict which it poses to the American ideal of a free society, is daily becoming more clearly recognizable.

With the courts and federal agencies dealing repeated and telling blows to the sagging body of old Jim Crow, with public opinion becoming more enlightened and more aroused by such Dixie atrocities as the unpunished lynching of Emmett Louis Till and others in Mississippi, with the quiet and brave determination of Southern Negroes to keep up the fight for freedom and integration, we may confidently look forward to the realization of the N. A. A. C. P. goal as expressed in the slogan: "Free by 'Sixty-three," the centennial of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

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2. In the Colleges . . *by Guy B. Johnson*

Chapel Hill

IN STRIKING contrast to the bitter public controversy over the segregation issue in the Southern public schools is the fact that integration of Negro students in Southern higher education is largely a *fait accompli*. This quiet revolution in the traditional patterns of race relations has been accomplished for the most part since 1948.

Prior to 1948 the number of higher institutions in the South—i.e., the seventeen "separate-school" states plus the District of Columbia—which had admitted Negro students to hitherto all-white campuses could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. The University of Maryland Law School had admitted Negroes since 1935 as the result of a lawsuit; the University of West Virginia had begun about 1940 to admit Negro graduate students, and one or two Catholic schools had enrolled a few Negroes. In the late 40's, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which had already sponsored several legal tests against public institutions, returned to the attack with renewed vigor and skill. In 1948 Negro plaintiffs won federal court decisions giving them the right to enter the University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma. There followed other suits against the University of Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, all of which resulted in decisions favorable to the plaintiffs. Thus by 1953 all of the state universities except five (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina) had admitted Negro students to their graduate and/or professional schools. Due to recent litigation, two of these, Alabama and Florida, are fairly sure to enroll Negro students in 1956.

Various other public institutions, such as the state colleges of agriculture and county or municipal colleges, either yielded to legal pressure or voluntarily admitted Negroes because they knew they could be required to do so. In the meantime various church-supported institutions and some of the private schools fell in with the trend. The result of all this has been that there are now approximately 125 Southern higher institutions, formerly all-white, which are today admitting Negroes.

About 10 per cent of these integrating schools are privately supported, the rest divided about equally between church-supported and publicly-supported institutions. As for location, the schools are divided about fifty-fifty between the border states and the former Confederate states, but the variations are high from state to state: one each in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, up to more than a score in Texas. There is a sprinkling of junior colleges in the list, but more than three-fourths are on the senior college or university level. As for the church-supported schools, they are about evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant, with Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist colleges heading the Protestant list in that order.

FIGURES on the enrolment of Negro students are hard to come by, as most of the schools claim that "we do not keep any records by race." However, on the basis of information obtained through personal interviews on many campuses and from other sources, it is possible to make a fairly satisfactory estimate. During the current academic term there are probably about 1,000 Negro students in the integrated public institutions and about an equal number in the church and private institutions combined. The summer session, however, shows a much higher Negro attendance since this is the best time for the school teacher to pursue graduate work. In the regular and summer session combined, there will be upwards of 2,000 Negroes this year in the public institutions alone. There is wide variation from school to school. Quite a few, especially in the seaboard and mid-South states, have fewer than ten Negroes, whereas the border-state and Southwestern schools tend to have much larger enrolments—say, fifty to one hundred or more in the regular session and upwards of 200 in the summer session. In the total picture the proportion of Negro students is still quite low—in most instances not more than 1 or 2 per cent.

Until recently nine-tenths of the Negro enrolment in the public institutions was on the graduate and professional level.' This was where the legal attack had been centered, for it was here that the inadequacy or even the absence of courses in the separate Negro colleges was most easily proved. When the courts ordered Negroes to be admitted to graduate and professional schools, most of the states tried to hold the line at that level. However, since the momentous decision of the Supreme Court in the public-school cases on May 17, 1954, compulsory racial segregation is discriminatory *per se* and is therefore unconstitutional. The new doctrine has already been applied in test cases brought by Negro undergraduate students in Louisiana and North Carolina. In other words, it is rapidly becoming apparent that no person can legitimately be excluded from *any* public institution on *any* level on grounds of race. Thus public institutions may expect a substantial enrolment of Negro undergraduate students in the next few years. State teachers colleges and women's colleges, most of which have escaped the integration trend because they are largely undergraduate schools, will now begin to appear on the integration list most frequently.

Incidentally, there is a reciprocal process of integration of white students into Negro schools which can be mentioned only briefly. Most Negro institutions—there are a hundred of them—have had the color bar, too, whether they wanted it or not. A few have for many years quietly taken in an occasional white student. Now more than twenty of the Negro colleges either have or are willing to admit some white students; one, West Virginia State College, has practically been "swamped" with 200 whites; and many more will welcome them as soon as legislators and trustees realize fully that the segregation laws are null and void.

The most remarkable thing about this revolution in Southern education and race relations is the fact that it has been accomplished so rapidly and so peacefully. In spite of fears and of dire predictions concerning bloodshed and the wholesale

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withdrawal of white students if ever a Negro was allowed to enter a white university, the transition was actually made in a rather calm and prosaic fashion. There are still hostile white students, of course, but they have rarely shown their hostility in overt action. In perhaps the worst incident to have occurred during the transition, when someone threw a rock and smashed a window in the apartment of a young Negro veteran and his wife who had been housed in a veterans' apartment project at Louisiana State University, the culprits found themselves very much in the minority. Other white students patroled the grounds to prevent further aggression, and some of them made friendly calls on the Negro couple to indicate their moral support.

During the first couple of years of the big change there was an attempt in several states to segregate the Negro student in various ways—in dining halls, libraries, rest rooms, and even in the classrooms. State officials took the position that the state laws requiring segregation were still in force, and they instructed the administrators of public institutions to enforce them. The administrators attempted to comply, but strikingly they found this to be difficult; most students and faculty simply tended to disregard the strictures. And doubt as to their illegality was removed by the Supreme Court when it held, in a test case brought by a Negro student at the University of Oklahoma, that the Negro, having been admitted to a school, is entitled to the same treatment as any other student.

Today about the only serious administrative discrimination remaining is in the area of dormitory facilities. While the overall picture is one of integration of the Negro students into the residence halls, there are several institutions which offer no dormitory space to Negroes or else house them in separate buildings. Usually the students have simply not pushed the question, but most administrators are well aware that in any legal test a federal court would rule in favor of the Negro.

Anyone who has watched the integration process unfold cannot help but be impressed by the evolution of administrators' attitudes and policies. At first many presidents and deans were so jittery and over-sensitive about the whole business that they actually complicated things. Now they seem to be more at ease, and they are taking pride in a new norm of equality of citizenship on the campus. As the president of one large state university put it, "The only sound policy is to let it be known that the administration treats all students alike." He added, "There is one area here that our Negro students have not yet tested out—the swimming pool. But the minute one of them wants to use it, I shall certainly have to say that he has the right to use it." It should be noted, however, that some of the presidents feel that the period of greatest strain is yet to come. They expect it when larger numbers of Negro undergraduates enroll.

NEGRO students have participated in almost every type of campus activity, and quite a few have won special recognition. In one university a Negro was elected president of the Men's Dormitory Association, in another a Negro woman was elected president of her dormitory by her white coresidents, and in still another an elderly Negro graduate student who had won a high place in the hearts of the white students was elected orator for Honors Day.

Negro students have also shared rather freely in collective social affairs such as picnics, dinners and dances given by the various class associations, honor societies, etc., to which they belong. White students have been quick to learn that they can share in such interracial "social" contacts without feeling any serious threat to their sense of personal privacy. But, while the color line has been redefined, it is still there, for in the more intimate realm of dating, partying and fraternity life the social worlds remain distinct.

The inferior segregated school background of many of the Negro students shows up in the new situation where standards are higher and competition is keener. As might be expected, the Negro student is furnishing somewhat more than his proper share of flunks and academic probations. Passing his courses is his Number One anxiety, but he does little griping about grades because he feels that on the whole he is getting a fair break. He is aware of his academic handicaps and he is working earnestly to overcome them. His professors face an intensified version of the old dilemma of a uniform standard versus a merciful attitude toward those who suffer some sort of handicap. Some of the professors frankly admit that they are grading "sympathetically."

In spite of academic deficiencies, the majority of Negro students are making good. They have won degrees in the "tough" professional schools of law and medicine, they have earned half a dozen doctorates in various graduate fields and several hundred masters' degrees, especially in the field of education. Equally important, they have won the respect of most of their colleagues and teachers.

The casual observer visiting one of the Southern coracial campuses would probably be struck by the naturalness and friendliness of the routine contacts between white and Negro in the classroom, coffee-break and bull sessions. Southerners in general like to personalize their relationships, and this "personal touch" adds to the ease of everyday school interaction on the campus even though all concerned are quite aware of a certain superficiality about it. As one Negro student who had been to college in the North before enroling in his own state university said, "At least it's better than being treated as if you were just a physical object."

And so it has happened that in less than a decade the South's system of higher education has moved from racial segregation to a high degree of integration. The transition period is over, and coracial education is getting to be old stuff to the younger generation. Many problems remain to be solved, but there is a basic decency about what has happened so

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far, and the general prognosis is good.

There is still a sort of Mason-Dixon Line, of course, between the integrated campus and the outside community, but even this shows signs of weakening. In quite a few cases, especially in the border states and the Southwest, movies, cafes and other enterprises on the fringe of the campus are dropping their color bars. Perhaps in five more years this whole business of segregation in places of public accommodation and amusement will be well-nigh extinct.

The dean of a theological school in one of the large church-supported universities tells the following story. His school had admitted several young Negro men. When the university football team was chosen to play in the nearby Big Bowl on New Year's Day, one of these students wondered whether he might attend the game. The dean realized that the Big Bowl was not university property and that the city's segregation law could be enforced, but he was determined that the student should enjoy his privileges without embarrassment. He went to great pains to prepare the way. He called certain city officials, he got in touch with the proper gatekeepers and ushers as well as with the officer who would patrol the section where the Negro would sit. Yes, they would all be glad to forget the segregation ordinance. All went well until the half-time intermission, when a policeman in another section of the stadium spotted the Negro. He came over, looking just a little belligerent. "What are you doing here?" he asked. "I am a student at 'X' University," was the reply. The officer seemed to doubt it, so the student pulled out his identification card. The officer looked at it, grunted, turned and started away. Suddenly he paused, then turned back toward the student, while spectators wondered what he ment to do now. And all he did was to reach down and pat the Negro gently on the shoulder and give him a little smile. He said nothing, but everyone agreed that what he meant was, "It's all right, son. I'm really glad you can be here."

LABOR AT THE ALTAR

A Marriage of Love? . . . *by Sidney Lens*

OLD FATHER TIME, that venerable healer, last week sewed together the dismembered body of American labor. After twenty years, George Meany of the AFL said that the split should never have happened, and Walter Reuther of the CIO, pointing with pride to the new constitution of the merged federations which puts craft and industrial unionism on an equal level, noted that the schism would have been averted had such a concession been forthcoming two decades earlier.

But these reassuring words on a new-found amity could not altogether dispel the doubts which 1,400 delegates brought with them to the opening sessions of the AFL-CIO's founding convention. Earlier, at the separate CIO meeting, Mike Quill of the powerful Transport Workers Union had articulated the fears of many when he charged that the merger would liquidate the CIO organizationally and ideologically. "This," he said, "is not a merger with honor. We are going *into* the AFL." He accused the older federation of tolerating racial discrimination, racketeering and back-door contracts, and he viewed the new AFL-CIO constitution as a license for continuation of such practices. He chided George Meany with being only "slightly to the Left" of Senator Knowland. Many in the audience thought Quill was only grabbing headlines; nevertheless, his remarks served to fan anxieties. "His criticisms are valid, and if after making them he had still voted for unity, he would have been a great hero"—so ran the comment.

The CIO's final convention foregathered in a funereal atmosphere. One speaker after another stressed that this was the "last" CIO session. Melvyn Douglas, narrating a moving pageant of CIO history, brought tears to hundreds of eyes. Reuther tried to make clear that this was not the end but the beginning of the CIO; it seemed to some he protested too much. He and folk-singer Joe Glazer sang "Joe Hill" together, and as the convention adjourned everyone sang "Solidarity."

AT THE AFL's last separate convention the fears were more material, if less articulate. Leaders of most of the federation's trade departments protected themselves against invasion by their new partners by increasing their own terms of office from two to four years. Men who have been living a relatively inactive life, unchallenged in their authority over their own domains, were fearful that "young" upstarts from the other side of the labor tracks would force them into a whirlwind of activity and possibly threaten their status. Slogans like "organize the unorganized," "end racial discrimination," "citizenship in operation"—these were words connoting activity, and activity posed a danger to ancient and consolidated power structures.

The proposed AFL-CIO constitution might place craft and industrial unions on an "equal" basis, but as George Orwell once said, "some things are more equal than others." As the changing economy changed further, would the industrial unions overpower the craft? If housing should develop into a mass prefabricated basis, would the factories be organized on a craft or industrial basis?

There were worries in both AFL

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and CIO ranks over jobs and status. Approximately one of every three national AFL jobholders, and two of every three CIO equivalents, faced the prospect of going down a notch in position. Number 1 men were to become Number 2, and plenty of Number 2 men were to become Number 4. In the CIO many faced demotion but none promotion with the possible exception of Jack Livingston, who was to move from an auto-worker vice-presidency to director of organization for the merged federations.

YET AS THE separate conventions proceeded, and as the merged convention at the Seventy-first Armory became a reality, a new spirit imbued the 1,400 architects of unity. Now that there was no turning back the doubts subsided and hope filled the air. The AFL announced that the Negro unionist, A. Philip Randolph, would become one of its seventeen candidates for vice-president of the combined AFL-CIO; the CIO seconded this move with a Negro candidate of its own, Willard Townsend. For the first time in labor history two Negroes were honored with such high posts, and the skeptics in CIO who were concerned that jimcrow would stalk the halls of the merged federation perked up a bit. At the AFL convention a few days before, the Air Line Pilots Association had been expelled for scabbing against the strike of the flight engineers—an unprecedented act. Such dynamism bolstered the morale of frustrated militants.

Equally encouraging were signs that the united federation would indeed, as its proponents had hoped, become a polarizing center. The most sensational development along this line was the indication that agreement had been reached on a merger of the United Packinghouse Workers-CIO and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen-AFL. And present at the AFL-CIO sessions were presidents of two of the railway brotherhoods—the firemen and engineers. They talked with Meany, and everyone presumed they discussed joining the AFL-CIO.

But if militants among the union men had reason to cheer, so did the conservatives. Meany wrote an article for the New York *Times* in which he asked for a "non-aggression pact" between management and labor. He urged employers to fashion this labor-management unity as a means of fighting communism. No ringing words these, nothing to worry the austere heads of established unions who had developed fears about that "Socialist Reuther." But Meany was forced into greater militancy a few days later when the National Association of Manufacturers spurned his offer.

And so initial fears were inundated by waves of good news and good fellowship. Reuther announced that CIO unions had pledged four million dollars for an organizing drive and that more would be forthcoming. Livingston and his aides were planning the drive and pin-pointing its leaders. Parties and receptions seemed to be at an all-time high. Mayor Wagner gave a dinner for Meany and Reuther, the teamsters gave a dinner for their own Dave Beck at which two of the goliaths of labor, Meany and Beck, expressed their mutual devotion; the New York AFL and CIO bodies gave a lavish affair for all the delegates and champagne and comradeship overflowed. Reuther's rip-roaring speech at the opening AFL-CIO session was received with considerable enthusiasm by AFL men who had never heard him before.

Nonetheless there were some jarring notes. The teamsters, 1,250,000 strong and unquestionably the most strategically placed organization in the united federation, demanded admission to the AFL-CIO's new industrial-union department. The crisis was resolved when they were offered affiliation to the extent of their industrial-union membership, with their craft-union members excluded. But the taste and smell of discord was in the air—a taste and smell all too likely to recur in the months to come.

Even more distressing to many delegates was the independent role that Beck was playing. In the midst of the festivities, his office announced a pact with the independent, left-wing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. This followed on the heels of a similar pact with the supposedly racket-dominated independent longshoremen's union, and unilateral arrangements with the meat cutters to organize jointly in the food field and with the AFL machinists to organize jointly in auto-repair and related areas. It looked like the teamsters were determined to establish a structure independent of the federation and heedless of its policies. The figure of Beck and his important subaltern, Jimmy Hoffa, loomed large and ominous to many.

It has been promised that the oil and water of the House of Labor will mix; nature makes things difficult. During the week the industrial-union department was established. For all practical purposes it is a federation within a federation. Its elaborate structure includes a president, secretary, and provisions for twelve vice-presidents, frequent board meetings and separate conventions. It can even expel unions from the department independently of their continued membership in the federation. The industrial-union department will bask in the limelight, a reminder that the CIO is still to be heard from. This is bound to sit poorly with old-line unionists pervaded with fears and doubts.

History decreed that labor unity was a necessary and progressive step—and for the record the necessary and progressive step was being taken with enthusiasm. But the ambivalency of the men who would have to make this unity work in the days to come was symptomatic that what had taken place was a wedding without love. The CIO with its industrial unionism had not reduced the AFL to impotency, as John L. Lewis had once thought it would. Instead the AFL accepted part of the industrial-union approach and rolled with the punch. On the other hand, AFL business unionism had never engulfed the CIO; yet by a process of osmosis CIO had introduced a goodly share of conservative unionism into its bloodstream. The two strategies and the two philosophies had blended toward each other, but neither had gone over completely to the other. The gulf was still wide. A long and intense shakedown was clearly on the agenda. Always there would be the threat of new schisms and new splits. It would take a man of great genius to hold this explosive material together.

The merger is in all respects only a beginning toward unity. For though Father Time had sewn together the dismembered parts, there was no guarantee that gangrene would not set in.

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TOWARD BETTER SCHOOLS

White House Conference . . . *by Frances Keene*

Washington

THE White House Conference on Education, held last week in Washington, was neither representative nor democratic. In spite of these supportable allegations, it accomplished a deal of work which will have immediate and may have lasting value for our educational set-up.

For proof that the conference, heralded publicly just over a year ago, was not representative, it is enough to cite the thirteen-man Oregon delegation, all Republican, all appointed by the governor, or the New Hampshire delegation (a state in which from 45 to 65 per cent—depending on whom you're talking to—of the school-age population attend parochial schools) which turned up without any official representative of the Catholic school system. Examples could be multiplied.

Total by-passing of parliamentary procedure in favor of "group dynamics" and the refusal of Chairman Neil McElroy, of Proctor and Gamble, to set aside a final day for airing of minority views effectively hobbled democratic processes. Three instances in which serious attempts were made from the floor to question delegates on major issues were quashed by the chair as "out of order." There was no way in which delegates could register vocally opinions which differed from the reports presented after each session as conference-wide decisions.

Why, then, if this was a slickly run "package deal," did it yield much that must be accepted as of value?

The publicity accorded this conference exceeded ten to one that of any other educational gathering. Aside from well-placed advance coverage, press cards were issued to 300 representatives of various dailies and weeklies. If only 200 of these were actually writers, the number is still massive compared to the previous maximum of about twenty reporters assigned to important educational meetings.

Preceding this mammoth turn-out were meetings of local groups of interested citizens, followed some six months ago by state conferences at which education platforms were drawn up and forwarded to the President's Committee on Education, for eventual submission to the President. The ably handled promotion pinpointed two main issues, one of which very nearly ran away with the conference program itself: federal aid to education and the urgent need for recruitment of an estimated million new teachers by 1960.

Two-thirds of the 1,800 delegates were from the professional-educator field, although the percentage directly interested in education as teachers or administrators was kept at a strict 33.35 per cent, according to Conference Director Clint Pace. This limitation was played up to "reassure" a presumably alarmed public that the conference was to be something more than a group of schoolmen sitting around talking shop.

SOME criticism from within came, however, when the much-touted pyramidal structure of the conference too often catapulted professional educators into positions as table chairmen. Their function was to distill, filter or simply codify the agreed opinions of their table-mates.

As a method of handling working conferences, the progressive-selection device has been used effectively by such organizations as the League of Women Voters, but never, I believe, on so large a scale. What has drawn fire from both Left and Right in the present instance has been the lack of provision for a reappraisal period in plenary session.

The 1,800 delegates sat at 160 tables and considered six topics. Before each topic was assigned, there was a briefing by a keynoter. As the delegates repaired three times daily to their individual tables, they found work sheets with notes, often admonitory, on aspects of the topic to be discussed. For instance, Topic 1, *What should our schools accomplish?* had a work sheet headed as follows:

> You, as participants, bring varied backgrounds and different kinds of experience to a discussion of the question. Therefore it will be helpful for you to start with the first principles and then go on to more complex matters. The following questions, although they may seem elementary, are provided to help you to get to the point quickly—and to stick to those things for which SCHOOLS are primarily responsible. It is only with that institution that our question is concerned.

The last two sentences effectively checked any impulse to consider the institutions of higher education, which certainly came within the scope of a nation-wide Conference on Education, and which many delegates felt represented the key to a large part of today's educational problem. The teacher shortage is at least in part traceable to the colleges, as is the bland acceptance of mediocrity of performance in this over-worked, under-paid profession.

After the first topic had been reported on, some qualms were voiced by the labor delegates, of whom about forty were present. Earlier the labor contingent had considered, then dropped, the idea of boycotting the conference as a "cut-and-dried" affair designed merely as window-dressing for the Administration. By mid-week the labor men were still of two minds as to whether anything constructive was being accomplished. Most optimistic was Tom Lazzio, president of Local 300 of the United Auto Workers, who had been a member of the conference committe from its inception some fifteen months ago. He agreed that the discussion of federal aid was "bound to be pretty cut-and-dried" but he still felt strongly that the conference stood a

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chance of achieving "inspiring" results on a grass-roots level *provided* the delegates returned to their home areas prepared to continue and extend their discussions.

Despite individual and small group "beefs," the delegates continued to grind out an unconscionable amount of work on the remaining five topics:

In what way can we organize our school systems more efficiently and economically?

What are our school building needs?

How can we get enough good teachers—and keep them?

How can we finance our schools—build and operate them?

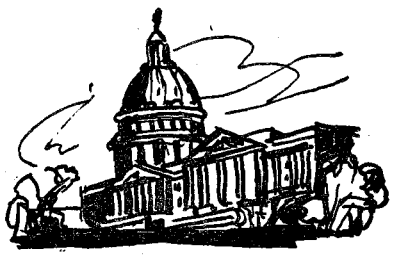
How can we obtain a continuing interest in education?

The topic of financing schools, of course, was the issue of the day. Despite dissenting voices from as many as seven state delegations during the closing session, the mandate which the Administration has been seeking —to step into the education picture with "limited" federal aid—was forthcoming.

Though representatives of the Armed Forces Dependent Schools program were present, the point was never made clearly that the federal government is already fully launched on a vast federal-aid program. This program, which includes kindergarten through high-school training, as well as correspondence courses and higher education, raises such immediate problems as whether schools on military bases administered by military personnel *can* teach with sufficient freedom to discuss, say, the ethical considerations implicit in our having dropped the A-bomb in the first place. It is significant that one of the points made in the conference report on topic 1 was that "All children should be free to seek the truth wherever it can be found."

Many problems of federal aid were not threshed out. Chief of them is, perhaps, the implications of such assistance in the partial financing of the vast network of parochial schools. This will ever be a hot issue, and we have in this country no "distinguished anti-clerical tradition" to fall back on—merely an absence of objective consideration of the question. The early presence of Clarence Manion, Dean of Law at Notre Dame, on Eisenhower's planning staff for the conference (he was later dropped, reportedly for his associations with Senator McCarthy), is an indication that federal aid *against* education is an ever-present threat. A particularly potent determinant in an election year might well develop from this parochial-school issue.

Of the many recommendations made for recruiting and holding "good" teachers, most significant were the "basic considerations" outlined at the beginning of the report on Topic 4. Three requirements were listed:



1. The prestige and status of teaching must be comparable to other professions within the community.
2. The salary structure must be high enough and flexible enough to compete effectively with other fields bidding for quality manpower.
3. The teacher's job must be so defined as to challenge and attract the interest of talented people.

Admission that such conditions do not obtain at present and a widespread public determination to alter the situation might do much to make possible the recruitment of the million teachers needed by 1960.

AN IMPORTANT topic left undiscussed is that of the expanding role of big business in education. Chairman McElroy, interviewed on the subject, told this reporter that he felt large-scale business involvement in education, "particularly in the financing of private schools and institutions of higher education," would continue. (McElroy's own company, Proctor and Gamble, has started its scholarship program this year.) While admitting that the growing role of business in education "may well be" to encourage students who have marked scientific aptitudes or who seem likely to enter the administrative field of business, Mr. McElroy emphasized that there was increased importance given to the humanities in even the most accelerated reputable professional programs.

What Mr. McElroy could not answer was the question many newsmen had put to members of his staff: why there was no list available of corporations with which delegates were affiliated? Some firms had given their executives time off, amounting in certain cases to half a year, to work for the conference, yet no listing of them as such was available. Responsible members of the Department of Education were also interested in a breakdown by business affiliations; they said such a list would be forthcoming within a month.

Most outspoken opponent of business's role in education was Governor Mennen Williams of Michigan. The Governor, who had come as a delegate, proposed that 50,000 scholarships, ranging in amount from $100 to $1,000, be provided for higher education, the candidates to be selected on merit and the amounts to be determined by need. This, he said, was the one effective way to insure higher education without the hand of business "holding the purse strings."

Not until after the first of the year, according to Chairman McElroy, will the President's Committee on Education reconvene to prepare the final report for Mr. Eisenhower. It will consist of the reports from the individual state conferences, the reports on the six topics discussed at the White House Conference, and a final summation, including recommendations, drafted by the committee. Asked if the first two parts would go to the President as received by the committee, Mr. McElroy said that they would not, but that "all the available documents would be included for additional study." This would seem to imply that the states' reports and the results of the conference would be submitted to the same "filtering" treatment given the individual topics at the recent meeting. What is "distilled out," to quote Mr. McElroy, may be a pretty thin brew indeed.

"The country will be in ferment over its educational problems for the next twenty-five years," says Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, "and some of its problems will not be solved to its own satisfaction. . . ." Admitting this fact, we can still be glad that the Administration has provided a spectacular tee-off with plenty of room to swing.

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BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

IN THE following columns regular contributors to *The Nation's* book department list the books that have most pleased and interested them in the past year. Few books are mentioned more than once, the only repeaters being "Inside Africa" by John Gunther, "The Solitary Singer: Walt Whitman" by Gay Wilson Allen, "The Self-Made Man in America" by Irvin G. Wyllie, "Poems" by Elizabeth Bishop, "Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man" by Thomas Mann, "The Accident" by Dexter Masters, "Emily Dickinson," a biography by Thomas H. Johnson, "Complete Poems by Emily Dickinson," edited by Thomas H. Johnson, and "Young Sam Johnson" by James L. Clifford. The list is thus a remarkably broad guide to the best expressions of the events, ideas and insights of our day: It contains no books "suitable for every taste," but the individual whose name cannot be suitably pencilled against one or another of these titles must have very special tastes—or no taste at all.

The literary editor, meanwhile, has a duty of conscience. For reasons that are not good enough, some books of immediate interest or lasting merit have not been mentioned in these columns. The editor is resolved to reduce these omissions to an inconsiderable minimum in the coming year, but some small amends can perhaps be made now.

At the end of the listings appears a small group of books recently published which, aside from their intrinsic merit, may have special interest for gift shoppers. Thumbnail comments are added to these in lieu of the notices they should have had.

Maxwell Geismar

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Three Loves of Dostoevsky. By Marc Slonim. Rinehart. $4.

The Greek Myths. By Robert Graves. Penguin Books. 2 Vols. 95 cents each.

The Crime of Galileo. By Giorgio De Santillana. Chicago. $5.75.

The River and the Gauntlet. By S. L. A. Marshall. Morrow. $5.

Joseph Wood Krutch

The Vagabond. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.

Young Sam Johnson. By James L. Clifford. McGraw-Hill. $5.75.

Man's Emerging Mind. By N. J. Berrill. Dodd, Mead. $4.

Wild America. By Roger Tory Peterson and James Fisher. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

Memoirs of Hadrian. By Marguerite Yourcenar. Translated by Grace Frick. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4.

John Ciardi

The Poems of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. 3 Vols. $25.

Emily Dickinson. An Interpretive Biography. By Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. $4.50.

A Letter to Li Po and Other Poems. By Conrad Aiken. Oxford. $3.50.

Journey to Love. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.

Poems. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

THE VERSES and illustrations on these pages are from "The Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book," assembled by Irma and Peter Opie (Oxford; $4.50). The Opies, editors of "The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes," have selected from the much larger work enough poems to carry any child through the nursery years. The book is admirably designed and printed, and the hundreds of little illustrations—almost all from old toy books and chapbooks, are as much joy as the airs and jingles.

Edgar Snow

Children of the Black-Haired People. By Evan King. Rinehart. $5.

The Accident. By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

The Universe and You. By Helen Howell Neal. Carlborg-Blades. $4.

Inside Africa. By John Gunther. Harper. $6.

The Challenge of Scandinavia. By William L. Shirer. Little, Brown. $5.

H. H. Wilson

Government by Investigation. By Alan Barth. Viking. $3.

Ethical Judgment. The Use of Science in Ethics. By Abraham Edel. Free Press. $5.

Grand Inquest. The Story of Congressional Investigations. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $4.50.

Waldo Frank

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By Gay Wilson Allen. Macmillan. $8.

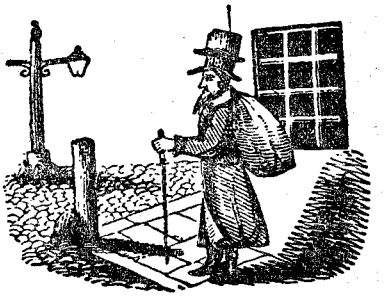
Rainbow at Midnight. Poems by Lawrence Lipton. Golden Quill Press. $2.

The Self and the Dramas of History. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. $3.75.

Muhammed's People. A Tale by Anthology. By Eric Schroeder. Bond Wheelwright. $10.

The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. By John Wexley. Cameron Associates. $6.

The Biology of the Spirit. By Edmund W. Sinnott. Viking. $3.50.



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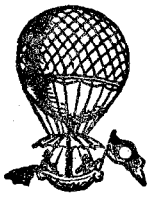

Terence McDiddler

Terence McDiddler,
The Three-Stringed Fiddler,
Can charm, if you please,
The fish from the seas.

Jacob Korg

Hawthorne. A Critical Study. By Hyatt H. Wagoner. Harvard. $4.75.

Japanese Literature. An Introduction for Western Readers. By Donald Keene. Grove. $2.50, cloth; $1, paper.

Creation and Discovery. Essays in Criticism and Aesthetics. By Eliseo Vivas. Noonday. $5.

East-West Passage. A Study in Literary Relationships. By Dorothy Brewster. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

Frederick L. Schuman

Sex in Christianity and Psychoanalysis. By William Graham Cole. Oxford. $4.

Inside Africa. By John Gunther. Harper. $6.

The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security. By Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. Brookings. $6.

The Communist Revolution. By Harold H. Fisher, Stanford. $1.

History of the Cold War. By Kenneth Ingram. Philosophical Library. $5.

Stanley Cooperman

The Tree of Man. By Patrick White. Viking. $4.50.

The Night of Time. By Rene Fulop-Miller. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.75.

The Recognitions. By William Gaddis. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.

The Accident. By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

The House of Dolls. By Ka-tzenick 135633. Translated by Moshe M. Kohn. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

In a Farther Country. By William Goyen. Random House. $3.

Homecoming. By Jiro Osaragi. Translated by Brewster Horwitz. Knopf. $3.75.

Mark Gayn

France Against Herself. By Herbert Luethy. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. Praeger. $6.50.

The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism. By Leopold H. Haimson. Harvard. $5.50.

Drinkers of Darkness. By Gerald Hanley. Macmillan. $3.50.

The Collected Stories of Isaac Babel. Translated by Walter Morison. Criterion Books. $5.

The Call to Honour. By General Charles de Gaulle. Translated by Jonathan Griffin. Viking. $5.

Carlos Baker

Andersonville. By MacKinlay Kantor. World. $5.

Young Sam Johnson. By James L. Clifford. McGraw-Hill. $5.75.

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Big Woods. By William Faulkner. Random House. $3.95.

The Easy Chair. By Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

Leon Edel

The Letters of W. B. Yeats. Edited by Allan Wade. Macmillan. $9.50.

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By Gay Wilson Allen. Macmillan. $8.

The Lion and the Honeycomb. By R. P. Blackmur. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

Thackeray. The Uses of Adversity. By Gordon N. Ray. McGraw-Hill. $7.

The Moth and the Star. A Biography of Virginia Woolf. By Aileen Pippett. Little, Brown. $5.

Ding, Dong Bell

(Scottish Version)

Ding dang, bell rang,
Cattie's in the well, man.
Fa' dang her in, man?
Jean and Sandy Din, man.
Fa' took her oot, man?
Me and Willie Cout, man.
A'them that kent her
When she was alive,
Come to the burials
Between four and five.

Praise

Robinets and Jenny Wrens
Are God Almighty's cocks and hens.
The martins and the swallows
Are God Almighty's bows and arrows.

Elizabeth McCausland

Emily Dickinson. An Interpretive Biography. By Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. $4.50.

The Stature of Theodore Dreiser. A Critical Survey of the Man and His Work. Edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro. Indiana. $5.

The Art of Indian Asia. By Heinrich Zimmer. Completed and Edited by Joseph Campbell. Pantheon. 2 Vols. $22.50.

The New Dimensions of Peace. By Chester Bowles. Harper. $4.50.

Miss Morissa. Doctor of the Gold Trail. By Mari Sandoz. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

Ray Ginger

Mine Boy. By Peter Abrahams. Knopf. $1.25.

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. 3 Vols. $25.

Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism. By Richard N. Current. Little, Brown. $3.

The Self-Made Man in America. By Irvin G. Wyllie. Rutgers. $4.

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Plaint

I am a pretty wench,
And I come a great way hence,
And sweethearts I can get none:
But every dirty sow
Can get sweethearts enough,
And I pretty wench can get none.

Jessamyn West

Bull Fever. By Kenneth Tynan. Harper. $5.

An Autobiography. By Edwin Muir. Sloane. $5.

The Bride of the Innisfallen and other Stories. By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

Poems. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

The Spanish Temper. By V. S. Pritchett. Knopf. $3.75.

O. Edmund Clubb

Jinnah. By Hector Bolitho. Macmillan. $3.75.

India's Walking Saint. By Hallam Tennyson. Doubleday. $3.50.

Nationalism in Japan. By Delmer M. Brown. California. $5.

Indonesia. Land of Challenge. By Marguerite Harmon Bro. Harper. $4.

William Goyen

A Good Man Is Hard to Find and Other Stories. By Flannery O'Connor. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

Faithful Are the Wounds. By May Sarton. Rinehart. $3.

The Alchemist's Voyage. By Calvin Kentfield. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

Thomas Wolfe. The Weather of His Youth. By Louis D. Rubin. Louisiana State. $4.50.

Harvey O'Connor

The Sane Society. By Erich Fromm. Rinehart. $5.

The Face of Violence. By J. Bronowski. Braziller. $2.75.

The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes. Simon and Schuster. 3 Vols. $6 each.

The Self-Made Man in America. By Irvin G. Wyllie. Rutgers. $4.

Sunset and Evening Star. By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. $4.75.

Carey McWilliams

The Moral Decision. Right and Wrong in the Light of American Law. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana. $5.

Books of Moments. Poems 1915-1954. By Kenneth Burke. Hermes Publications, Los Altos, California. No price given.

Red Scare. A Study in National Hysteria 1919-1920. By Robert K. Murray. Minnesota. $4.75.

Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles. By Grace Heilman Stimson. California. $6.

Captain Dreyfus. The Story of a Mass Hysteria. By Nicholas Halasz. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

Closing Notes

The Easy Chair. By Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

DeVoto was completely sane; this made him something of a sport in contemporary society. His last book is a selection from the column he wrote regularly for *Harper's;* it covers ten years. DeVoto wrote so well—which is to say that he thought so well—that the bulk of his passing comment is of undated interest.

Exploring English Character. By Geoffrey Gorer. Criterion. $5.

There is something incongruous about polling the English—every man in his castle soberly filling out the impertinent questionnaire. But Gorer used the technique with gratifying results. His sample was the public that reads *The People*—a very mass-circulation paper—and opinion purists can riddle his technique. Nevertheless, the mass portrait he has produced seems unmistakably right in its broad outlines. He treats the material informally, giving the "respondents" room to speak in their own words. What they say is evocative, often moving.

The Sweet Flypaper of Life. Text by Langston Hughes. Photos by Roy DeCarava. Simon and Schuster. $1, paper.

Despite a title that might have come off the advertising mill, this is a small work of quality. The pictures are what make it so. The story—an old Negro woman musing about her Harlem children and grandchildren, with an occasional ogle at her own youth—is perceptive and tender, but also a little cute and patronizing, as though Hughes were no longer in touch with his world. But the pictures are in touch; they are alight with affection and amusement, intimate without the clinical prying of much candid photography.

The Inmost Leaf. By Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace. $4.75.

A selection from the magazine work, in the past fifteen years, of one of America's best-informed and most-communicative critics. Most of the pieces were written for the politely thoughtful general magazines, and have the tone imposed by that journalism. But Kazin is a serious worker and gets his work done even while holding to the cocktail manner.

The Selective Eye. Random House. $7.95.

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began to publish *L'Oeil* in Paris in January of this year. They achieve the considerable tour de force of producing a substantial anthology from their first nine issues. "The Selective Eye" is elegantly eclectic and, though some color plates are false, is at the high visual level of the special issues of French art magazines. Its editorial eye is more original than most, and the first collection opens a number of seductive vistas.

Two of the largest, most beautiful (and most expensive) of the current art books are "Pablo Picasso" by Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartes (Harry N. Abrams; $15) and "Primitive Art" by Edwin O. Christensen (Studio-Crowell; $15). Not judging the extensive texts (the books will soon be reviewed), the volumes are indeed "museums without walls," more beautiful and instructive than any but the most brilliantly staged of modern museums.—ROBERT HATCH.

The Friend of the Poet

DYLAN THOMAS IN AMERICA: An Intimate Journal. By John Malcolm Brinnin. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

By M. L. Rosenthal

TO THE AUDIENCES thrilled by his magnificent readings during his four American sojourns between 1950 and 1953, the dramatic, willful presence of Dylan Thomas seemed an incarnation of Dionysian and Romantic ideals. But Thomas, who had won his best audiences—of fellow-poets and appreciative critics—before ever touching our shores, was dying amid these triumphs, dying of acute and chronic alcoholism and other disorders, including a diabetic condition undiscovered until he lay on his deathbed. The "sensual strut" toward death celebrated in his poems and grotesquely speeded up by his American experiences halted pitifully before he was yet forty.

John Malcolm Brinnin, the poet and director of the Y. M.-Y. W. H. A. Poetry Center who first arranged for Thomas to come here, seeks to disprove the contention that it was the United States that really destroyed him. Originally, of course, Brinnin had no inkling of the tragic wreckage that was building up, and even less of the possibility that he might be the well-meaning vehicle of its acceleration. He is certainly right in insisting that its sources lay deep in the poet's guilt-ridden psyche and that, far from consciously exploiting his friend Dylan's precious energies, he did everything he could to protect him, to stop the pointless squandering of all his earnings, and, later, to dissuade him from undertakings that were cutting into his work.

But despite the wealth of detail he can furnish, Brinnin's view is hardly objective; he was too involved in the whole business. It was impossible to maintain an impersonal relationship with Thomas; the terrible drinking and the disorderly, self-destructive manner of life—the whole refusal to "adjust" to conventional schedules and behavior—overwhelmed the American and forced him into a new orbit. Thomas's genius included the gift of compelling affection and devotion, and for Brinnin, who gives the impression of being a fastidious, methodical person, the friendship was as disturbing as it was rewarding.

In the picture it provides of such a relationship, and for the insights it gives into what happens when a "natural" like Dylan Thomas is drawn into the world of genteel literary professionalism, Brinnin's book is invaluable. Biographers and critics will certainly seize upon its specific data concerning Thomas's life in Wales (where Brinnin twice visited him), his marriage and love affairs, the composition of "Under Milk Wood" and other works, his literary tastes, his capacity for emotional rapport with many kinds of people, and his feelings about his public appearances, about academic people, about vaudeville, and so on. Yet, with all its frankness and sympathy, it is an intolerably cruel book.

Intolerably and incredibly cruel, when one considers that Thomas is but two years dead, that his wife and children and certain of his friends must bear the brunt of these painful revelations, and that the public success of Brinnin's account will derive from the scandalized, gossip-drenched murmurings it will evoke to strengthen a legend Brinnin himself deplores. It is not only the squalor of some of these details: what the Biddles's servant said about

M. L. ROSENTHAL, author with A. J. M. Smith of the recently published "Exploring Poetry," teaches modern poetry at New York University.

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Cats in the Snow

IT WAS always snowing at Christmas. December, in my memory, is white as Lapland, though there were no reindeer. But there were cats. Patient, cold, and callous, our hands wrapped in socks, we waited to snowball the cats. Sleek and long as jaguars and horrible-whiskered, spitting and snarling, they would slink and sidle over the white back-garden walls, and the lynx-eyed hunters, Jim and I, fur-capped and moccasined trappers from Hudson Bay, off Mumbles Road, would hurl our deadly snowballs at the green of their eyes. The wise cats never appeared.—DYLAN THOMAS.

On the eve of the holiday, New Directions has brought out Dylan Thomas's "A Child's Christmas in Wales." It is a small book, and attractive, taken from Thomas's "Quite Early One Morning." A merrier and more pungent celebration of the season for family reading aloud has not been written in our time. $1.50.

Dylan's underwear, and how he stole some shirts when he was their house guest; how he allowed a "friend" to act as a procurer for him; how he neglected payment of his son's tuition; and how boring or disgusting he was on this, that, and t'other occasion. More fundamental even is the portrayal of Dylan's wife Caitlin as an unstable, rivalrous detractor of her husband, wounding him constantly where he was most vulnerable—in his pride and self-confidence. Here again Brinnin is baffling in the way he simultaneously pays tribute to her finer qualities, playing the part of compassionate friend, yet has his devastating say. No wonder that Caitlin writes, in the furious foreword he has allowed to be printed here, that "it is impossible to hit back at a man who does not know that he is hitting you, and who is far too cautious of the laws of libel to say plainly what can only be read between the lines." And who should know better than Dylan's friend John the truth of her reminder of a poet's "rehearsing need to withhold from the light his private performance till it is ready for showing"? A curiously double book.

Selected New Books

Poetry

THE FROGS OF ARISTOPHANES. Translated by Dudley Fitts. Harcourt, Brace. $4. Fitts's handsome dedication to me prejudices me more than somewhat in his favor, but even had he spat rather than beamed, he would still have my vote as our master translator. Try reading first the Choral Episode, lines 209-268 (the Yale Frogs) for sheer roister and flavor and go (koax).

INTRODUCTORY PAPERS ON DANTE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harper. $4. Miss Sayers has read Dante passionately and thought about him profoundly, and her introductory papers on some of the central problems of Dantean interpretation, draw enough strength from this depth of attention to survive both her proselytizing zeal (Anglican rather than Roman) and her rather astonishing difficulties in handling an English sentence.

THE FLOWERS OF EVIL. By Charles Baudelaire. Variously translated. Selected and Edited by Marthiel and Jackson Mathews. New Directions. $6. Centenary bilingual edition. Certainly the best and probably the definitive Baudelaire in English. Complete poems, the English versions carefully selected from the best work of thirty translators. Short of such bursts of pure genius as produce an English Rubaiyat, this sort of selection seems obviously the way it should be done.

JOHN CIARDI

Fiction

SO HELP ME GOD. By Felix Jackson. Viking. $3.50. Like many script-writers who turn to fiction comparatively late in life, Felix Jackson has produced a well-constructed book, professional from first page to last. His novel is a sharp incident of political babbittry, with suspense, dialogue, and action used for maximum effect.

THE CHANGELINGS. By Jo Sinclair. McGraw-Hill. $3.75. A sensitive examination of social flux: the change, now occurring in many metropolitan areas, from immigrant to racial ghettos. Miss Sinclair is at her best, however, in dealing with adolescents rather than larger social problems; her book tends to be too pat, and her optimism often comes periously close to sentiment.

RUN SILENT, RUN DEEP. By Commander Edward L. Beach, USN. Holt. $3.95. Commander Beach seldom ventures out of his depth in this exciting novel of submarine warfare, dealing not so much with the human beings involved as with the subject itself. Submarines, however, are fascinating objects, and Commander Beach knows them thoroughly.

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Bach: Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Preludes and Fugues in A minor and D major, Allabreve in D, etc., for organ; Anton Heiller (EP). "Dorian" Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Preludes and Fugues in B minor and F minor, etc., for organ; Schweitzer (CO). Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Passacaglia for organ; Richter (LO; with piece by Liszt). Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, Prelude and Fugue in E minor, chorale-preludes for organ; Richter (LO). Italian Concerto and Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue for harpsichord; Malcolm (LO).

Beethoven: Sonatas for cello and piano; Starker and Bogin (P).

Berlioz: "Les nuits d'ete"; Steber and orchestra under Mitropoulos (CO). "Te Deum"; Royal Philharmonic, choruses, etc. under Beecham (CO). "Beatrice and Benedict" and "Benvenuto Cellini" Overtures; Suisse Romande orchestra under Denzier (LO).

Bizet: "Roma" Symphony; N. Y.

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City Ballet Orchestra under Barzin (coarsely reproduced) (VO; with Chabrier's music for "Bourree fantasque," which sounds muffled).

Britten: "St. Nicolas"; Aldeburgh Festival performance conducted by Britten (LO).

Debussy: "Images" for orchestra: "Gigues," "Iberia," and "Rondes de printemps"; Amsterdam Concertgebouw under van Bienum (recorded too close) (EP).

Dvorak: Symphonic Variations Op. 78; Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (CO; with Balakirev's "Tamar").

Gershwin: Piano Concerto; Katchen with Mantovani's Orchestra (LO; with "Rhapsody in Blue," played less well).

Handel: "Water Music" complete; Hewitt Orchestra (H). Double Concerto in F; Berlin Chamber Orchestra under von Benda (T).

Haydn: Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 102; London Philharmonic under Solti (LO). Symphonies Nos. 88 and 101 ("Clock"); Vienna Philharmonic under Muenchinger (LO). Harpsichord Concerto Op. 21 and Trumpet Concerto; Erna Heiller and Eskdale with Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer (VA). "The Creation"; soloists, chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Woeldike (VA). "Lord Nelson Mass"; soloists, Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Akademie Kammerchor under Rossi (VA).

Lully: "Miserere"; soloists, choral and Akademie Kammerchor under Anthony Lewis (OI).

Mahler: Symphony No. 1; New York Philharmonic under Walter (CO).

Morley: Vocal and instrumental pieces; Primavera Singers under Greenberg, Winogron (virginals) (ES).

Mozart: Clarinet Concerto K.622; de Peyer and London Symphony under Collins (LO; with Bassoon Concerto K.191). Four Horn Concertos; Brain and Philharmonia under von Karajan (A). Violin Concertos K.216 and 218; Grumiaux and Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner (EP). Quartets K.499 and 589; Netherlands String Quartet (EP). Divertimento K.563; Pasquier Trio (H). Serenade K.203; New Symphony under Maag (LO). Symphony K.425 ("Linz"); Berlin Chamber Orchestra under von Benda (T; with Schubert's Symphony No. 5). Symphony K.385 ("Haffner"); Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (CO; with "Linz Symphony" less well played). "Cosi Fan Tutte"; Schwarzkopf, Merriman, Simoneau, etc., Philharmonica under von Karajan (A). "Don Giovanni"; Siepi, Corena, Dermota, della Casa, Gueden, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Krips (rough, lusterless sound improved by reduction of range of reproduction) (LO); London, Simoneau, Jurinac, etc., Vienna Symphony under Moralt (poorer orchestra, better singing, more agreeable sound) (EP). "The Magic Flute"; Gueden, Lipp, Simoneau, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Boehm (sound needs reduction of range (LO). "The Marriage of Figaro"; Siepi, Gueden, della Casa, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Kleiber (sound needs reduction of range) (LO).

Mussorgsky: "Songs and Dances of Death"; London and Ulanowsky (CO). "Sunless" cycle; Kurenko and Pastukhov (CA; with songs of Prokofiev and Gretchaninov).

Pachelbel: Works for organ; Noss (OV; with work by Walther).

Prokofiev: Violin Concerto No. 1; Milstein and St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann (sound is dry and edged) (CA). Music for "Chout"; Paris Philharmonica under Horenstein (VO; with "Lieutenant Kije" Suite).

Purcell: Songs; Oberlin (ES).

Rossini: "L'Italiana in Algeri"; Simionato, Valletti, Petri, etc., chorus and orchestra of La Scala under Giulini (A).

Scarlatti: Sonatas for harpsichord; Malcolm (LO); Kirkpatrick (some playing poor) (CO).

Schubert: "Geheimes," "Litanei," other songs; Souzay and Baldwin (LO). "Die Winterreise"; Hotter and Moore (A). "Die schoene Muellerin"; Dermota, unimpressively accompanied by Hilde Dermota (L).

Schumann: Etudes symphoniques for piano; Anda (T; with "Carnaval," played less well). "Dichterliebe"; Dermota, unimpressively accompanied (T).

Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto No. 2; Nikolayeva, with poor playing by State Orchestra of U. S. S. R. under Anosov (CL). Suite No. 1; New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos (CO; with Borodin's Symphony No. 2).

Thomson: Music for "Filling Station"; N. Y. City Ballet Orchestra

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under Barzin (VO; with Kay's music for "Western Symphony").

Verdi: "La Traviata"; only for Tebaldi's singing (LO).

Vivaldi: Twelve Violin Concertos Op. 8, "Il Cimento dell' Armonia e dell' invenzione," which include "The Four Seasons"; Barchet and Stuttgart Pro Musica String Orchestra under Reinhardt (VO).

Walton: "Facade"; Sitwell, Pears, orchestra under Collins (LO).

Wolf: Michaelangelo, "Harfenspieler," and other songs; Hotter and Moore (A).

Collections: Elizabethan and Jacobean Music; Deller, etc. (B). Choral Music of the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries; Quartetto Polifonico (L). Motets of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries; Welch Chorale (LY). Marcello, Tartini, Galuppi, Rossini; I Musici (A 35086). Rossini, Bellini, Verdi; Simionato (L). Mozart, Donizetti; Valletti (CE 50176; with Massenet). Verdi; Gueden (LO LD-9165; with Puccini). Bellini, Verdi; Callas (CE 50175; with Ponchielli and Wagner). Callas: Coloratura-Lyric (A).

Art

A. L. Chanin

MORE AND MORE, people visit galleries and museums, and buy art books, and take art-appreciation courses or even attempt to paint. These signs of a growing interest in art, however, generally stop short at a crucial point—the purchase of an original. Yet to choose and hang the work, however modest, of a promising contemporary is an act of real participation in the affairs of art. Compared to it, the hanging of reproduced masterpieces is mere decoration. A museum is the place to see van Gogh or Degas; at home, a man should enjoy the fruits of his own taste. The holiday season, especially in New York, when a number of galleries present Christmas exhibitions geared to moderate incomes, is a good time to make the plunge.

The late Fanny Brice once said of her collection: "The fun to me in buying pictures is to spot an unknown painter who looks like a comer and see how good your hunch was. If he comes through, you're sure you're a connoisseur, and if he doesn't, you at least have the satisfaction of knowing that you encouraged a struggling artist. By steering clear of buying 'names' I have a collection which cost me practically nothing, and is now beginning to pay dividends." And it might be added that the picture that doesn't come through pays dividends also; for, once bought, and now uninteresting, it has acted as a teacher, a sharpener of taste and understanding.

Price is always a determining factor. The cheapest form of art is prints—a lithograph, an etching, a woodcut, or a serigraph. The choice is wide, from black and white, to color, and from a Picasso or Matisse, to an exciting array of contemporary Americans. Prints should not be confused with mechanically printed reproductions, turned out by the thousands. Each print is the artist's own production, conceived to function best in one of the mediums that permits limited duplication. Most artists pull a limited number of copies and then destroy the plate. America is now undergoing an extraordinary renaissance in this field. Good examples can be acquired from about $25, up to several hundred.

Drawings are next in price scale, starting at about $50, then come watercolors, oil paintings, and sculpture, generally from $200 up—and up.

The best place to buy an original is in Manhattan. More than a hundred galleries offer a vast choice; they range from the plush establishments dealing in world-famous artists for the carriage-trade, to modest galleries hopefully displaying a newcomer who may develop.

Galleries tend to specialize. Here is a brief cross-section listing, with the emphasis on moderate prices and living Americans. Galleries are not museums, but even the most austere of them welcome browsers and gladly answer questions. They don't expect you to buy, but some will accept installment payments if you are buying.

Good places to poke around in-

and quiet flows the Don . . .

One of the illustrations in a short novel recently published in Soviet Literature

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formally for new talent: Alan Gallery, 32 East 65th Street; Artists Gallery, 851 Lexington Avenue; Contemporary Arts, 106 East 57th Street; Davis Gallery, 231 East 60th Street (stress on realism); Hansa Gallery, 210 Central Park South; Meltzer Gallery, 38 West 57th Street (serigraphs); New Gallery, 601 Madison Avenue; Roko Gallery, 51 Greenwich Avenue; Salpeter Gallery, 42 East 57th Street; Sculpture Center, 42 East 57th Street; Stable Gallery, 424 7th Avenue; The Contemporaries, 922 Madison Avenue (prints).

Established names, plus some new talent: A. C. A. Gallery, 63 E. 57th Street; Downtown Gallery, 32 East 50th Street (famous names, and also folk art); Feigl Gallery, 601 Madison Avenue; Fried Gallery, 40 East 68th Street (off-the-beaten-path European and American modernists) Kraushaar Gallery, 32 East 57th Street (the classic Americans of the turn of the century, plus new work); Parsons Gallery, 15 East 57th Street *(avant-garde);* Weyhe Gallery, 794 Lexington Avenue (especially for prints); Carlebach Gallery, 937 3rd Avenue (African and Oceanic art).

For big names, and a taste for the more daring European and American styles: Janis Gallery, 15 East 57th Street; Kootz Gallery, 600 Madison Avenue; Perls Gallery, 1016 Madison Avenue; Saidenberg Gallery, 10 East 77th Street.

Very expensive: Knoedler Galleries, 14 East 57th Street; Rosenberg Galleries, 20 East 79th Street; Silberman Galleries, 1014 Madison Avenue; Wildenstein Galleries, 19 East 64th Street.

Buyers who want to make sure that their choice is right can now test it by renting originals. The largest center for this is the Art Lending Service of the Museum of Modern Art, open to museum members throughout the country. This service rents originals for a month or more; if you decide to buy, the rental paid is applied against the final price.

Beyond New York, from Boston to Beverly Hills, there is a scattering of galleries containing good, relatively inexpensive art. There are also excellent sources in the art schools of many universities and colleges. Many of these organize out-of-town exhibitions, surveys of local talent, and often surprisingly stimulating exhibitions of student work, as well as the work of distinguished art-faculty members. A generous number of small museums and local organizations also exhibit good or promising examples.

Here, at random, are some galleries, museums, and art organizations where, from time to time, living art is shown and for sale: Society of Art, *Portland, Maine;* Silvermine Guild of Artists, *Silvermine, Connecticut;* Academy of Fine Arts, *Hartford;* Kippnis Gallery, *Westport, Connecticut;* Institute of Art and History, *Albany;* The Little Gallery, *Princeton, New Jersey;* East Orange Art Center, *East Orange, New Jersey;* the Spectrum, Whyte Galleries, *Washington, D. C.;* Art Association, *Wichita, Kansas;* Kalamazoo Art Center, *Kalamazoo, Michigan;* Fine Art Center, *Colorado Springs;* Art Museum, *Oakland, California;* Hatfield, Stendahl Galleries, *Los Angeles;* Perls Gallery *Beverly Hills;* Seligman Gallery, *Seattle.*

DECEMBER is also a gala exhibition month in New York. I can't mention all the shows, but these three should not be missed:

Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Paintings, Whitney Museum of American Art (to January 8th). More than a hundred and fifty painters in a survey which will ruffle the faint-hearted. Mostly vigorous abstractions; the best are dramatically organized, the weak ones fizzle out. Of the representational examples shown, only some half-dozen challenge the better abstractions with a fresh approach.

Jules Pascin, Perls Galleries (to December 24th). Oils, drawings, and water-colors, by one of the most sensitive artists of our time. Pascin's glowing oils, mostly nudes, brothel interiors, portraits, and some glimpses of exotic landscape, are a highly individual fusion of delicate, expressive line and drifting, shimmering color. Across his procession of hard-bitten street-girls, of sophisticated friends, or children holding bouquets, flits a melancholy, wistful mood—not superimposed, but part and parcel of his command of painting.

Timeless Master Drawings—Wildenstein Galleries (through December). Good drawings are informal revelations of an artist's basic vision. The 175 examples shown, from the fifteenth to the twentieth

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century, are a formidable group for any institution, except a museum, to own. Some of the great names in this exhibition are: El Greco, Tintoretto, Veronese, Poussin, Rubens, Watteau, Fragonard, Ingres, Corot, Daumier, Degas, Renoir and van Gogh. A show to linger over.

Theater

Robert Hatch

THE NEW Rodgers and Hammerstein musical opened at the Schubert to a more than million-dollar advance sale and cool notices. "Pipe Dream" offers good taste and good humor, a seductive score, lovely sets and a host of attractive people behaving with an easy self-confidence that is almost unprecedented on the musical stage. It is certainly not as big an achievement as "Oklahoma!" but I like it that the constructors of that gigantic corn opera can work so well in a quieter manner.

The danger for "Pipe Dream" was sentimentality. It derives from John Steinbeck's hobo paradise on Cannery Row, and Steinbeck is a writer compromised by facile tears. The plot, like almost all musical plots, is indeed perilously sweet, but the performers show an edge of ironic self-appraisal that keeps the tone decently dry. Harold Clurman, directing his first musical, is responsible for this astringency. He manages to say that, while it is a nice pastime to pretend that alcoholic bums are brave-hearted lads and cafe whores their admiring younger sisters, we know—and they know—that it is a pretty lie. You will notice a long-haired madman beating eccentric time to the happy rumpus, an acrid counterpoint to the innocence.

This double tone requires acting at a level not usually attempted in musical comedy, and probably the most remarkable thing about "Pipe Dream" is Clurman's successful assumption that competent acting is entirely possible on the musical stage. His people do not break character when they sing and dance, no one is permitted to act badly because he does his own specialty well. Hammerstein's book is sensible and it is sensibly performed, the dialogue being plausible and the mass jollifications being spontaneous outbursts rather than production extravaganzas. The whole show feels spontaneous, a quality that is achieved on the stage only by the most rigorous and purposeful drill.

Judy Tyler, who plays the heroine, is not remarkable pretty and she has a rough, unplaced voice. Her virtue is that she looks like somebody who might hitch-hike in dungarees along the California highways and is able to inject an element of individual decision into the inevitable boy-loves-girl story. William Johnson, playing Steinbeck's beloved Doc Ricketts, is a more conventional lyric hero. He sings well, looks fine in a beard, and acts well enough.

But the bums from the Palace Flop House are the real heroes of the show. Clurman keeps them working at a level of unforced buffoonery that spins the show along. They never do anything extraordinary, but they are always up to something that makes amusing sense. There are eight or ten of them, led by G. D. Wallace (straight man), Mike Kellin (tough dope), and Guy Raymond (a lanky man with a witty grace), and they should be final proof that the chorus boy is gone to stay.

Helen Traubel is the only box-office name in "Pipe Dream" and the one big problem. She is so obviously a good sport, apparently so free of primadonna snobbery in the knock-about world of show music, that it seems ungenerous to say that she finds herself on the wrong stage. In fact, she acts the motherly madam with considerable aplomb, but she can't sing the songs for beans. And since singing is her fame, she is given a lot of it to do. Her voice is a formidable instrument; here it sounds as baffled and bored as a diesel pulling a hand truck.

Jo Mielziner's several sets are light and cheerful; they are clever workmanship but unpretentious. Boris Runanin's choreography is not remarkable, but it fits smoothly into the action. Altogether, "Pipe Dream" is a civilized and intelligent amusement, and that advance should give time for word to get around.

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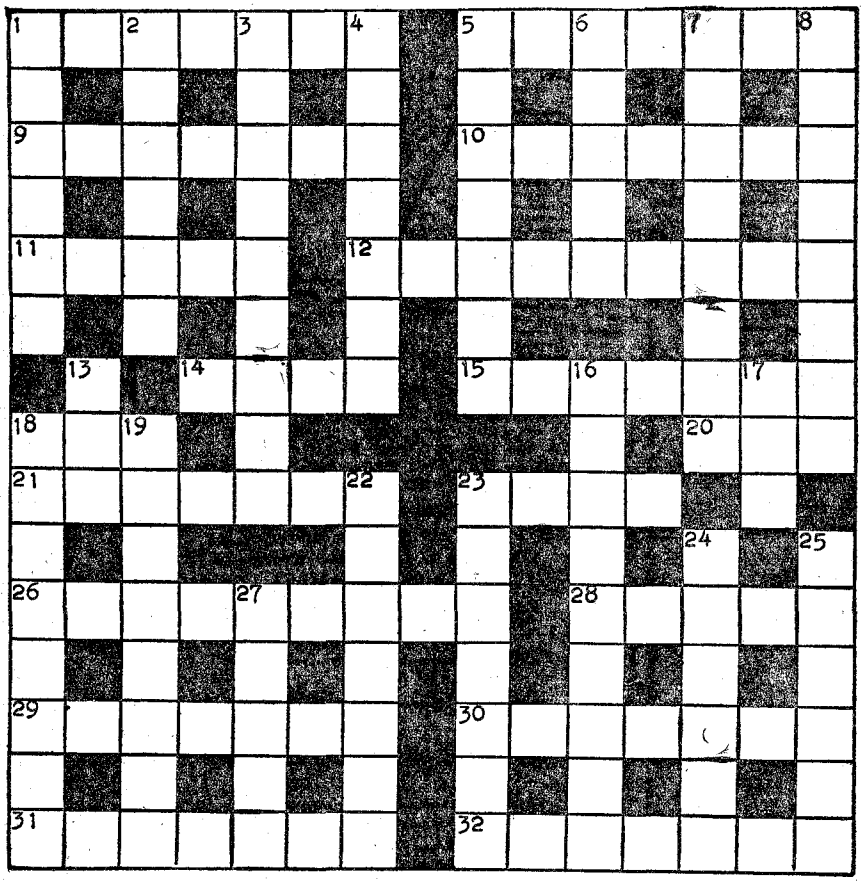
Crossword Puzzle No. 650

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 1 down.
5 One came down to drink beside the billabong. (7)
9 Carry stone where things were baited. (7)
10 Is the beer all used up? Switch from one brand name to another! (7)
11 White poplar starts out where 10 left off. (5)
12 With the complications removed? (It's a nasty expression in a sort of undraped figure.) (9)
14 See 18 across.
15 Such things can't be overruled. (7)
18, 17 down, 13 down, 14 across, 18 down The length of the board was longer than expected, in his case. (3,3,3,4,2,6)
20 See 29 across.
21 When cool, it ices over to be rocky inside. (7)
23 See 19 down.
26 Urge on the spirit, alternately the song. (9)
28 Not the outer, but rather the lower part of 18 down. (5)
29 and 20 Home and away! (4,3,3)
30 Pull a fish back to one side! (7)
31 Not a whole nation of deserters having a hectic time! (3,4)
32 Have a reference to honor. (7)

DOWN

1 and 1 across You would probably have to arrive early at the dance! (2,4,3,4)
2 Coat of the Spanish with the label inside. (6)
3 Dangerous when tipsy, as Shaw's play proves. (5,4)
4 Thrust out. (Not a very polite way to end it!) (7)
5 Get up, sir! It's just about but not exactly, like Holmes and Marshall! (7)
6 Did they make their crossing from this island? (5)
7 The sort of fun that has to exist with a falsehood at heart. (8)
8 This bird really can't do away with 5 across finally. (8)
13 See 18 across.
16 These people were unusually observant. (9)
18 See 18 across.
19 and 23 across A begonia seems to cause a rather large burn! (9,3)
22 Perhaps it's a type of blue cod! (5,2)
23 Is it quite bright to sell the first of 31 which rises to interrupt? (7)
24 This could go in quite well, although those who drag don't always. (6)
25 One doesn't give this with 7 down. (6)
27 One lariat can be made from most of another. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 649

ACROSS: 1 THWART; 4 TUMBLERS; 10 MALARIA; 11 DEAD SEA; 12 LOSER; 13, 2 and 24 THE WALLS OF JERICHO; 14 SPATE; 15 RIFLE; 17 SAVORIES; 21 ASSIGNOR; 23 and 8 MAJOR SCALES; 26 RUINS; 29 MARKS; 30 GRUNION; 31 CONICAL; 32 TREASURE; 33 BROODS. DOWN: 1 TEMPLARS; 3 RARER; 5 UNDUE; 6 and 28 across BEARSKIN; 7 ENSLAVE; 9 PARTISAN; 16 ELI; 18 VERONICA; 19 RAN; 20 BRISTLES; 22 SPICULE; 25 FRIGHT; 28 KINER; 29 and 27 MINOR SUITS.

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